

A Wave of Barbarism Threatens to Inundate Europe

The Advance of Bolshevism Is Compared to the Descent of Northern Tribes on Rome

By Frank H. Simonds

WITH the collapse of Poland and the advance of the Bolsheviks upon Warsaw the world upheaval enters upon a new stage. An exhausted and divided Western civilization faces a renewal of the assaults of barbarism, of anarchy, of dissolution such as temporarily overcame Roman and Greek civilization more than fifteen centuries ago.

What the Paris conference undertook to do in the face of this barbarism was to construct a barrier such as Rome had erected at the Danube and the Rhine. The later wall was to be composed of separate nationalities freed from Russian and German tyranny, the three Baltic races, the Letts, the Lithuanians and the mixed tribes of Estonia; of the Poles and the Rumanians, and behind this outer rampart an inner wall made up of Czechoslovaks and Jugo-Slavs.

So far as Paris could agree upon anything, this wall, this *cordon sanitaire*, represented its Russian policy. These states, depending for existence, for prosperity, for everything, upon the Western nations, were to stand to arms on the Russian marshes and repel any attempt of Russian revolution to flow westward. The armies of these smaller states were to be organized and officered by military missions from the West; they were to be the allies both against Russian and German attack.

Second Choice at Paris

This barrier policy, to be sure, represented the second choice at Paris. The statesmen and the soldiers of the nations which had conquered Germany would have preferred to direct their still powerful armies against Russia and crush the Bolshevik régime, in their opinion still a hollow shell. But this course was impossible because the soldiers who composed the armies were unwilling to fight a new war, the mass of the public was dead against any such adventure and the limit of Western contribution was manifestly comprehended in the purpose to support the border tribes and out of them construct a wall.

Now, the thing that it is essential to perceive is that the wall has not alone been breached but demolished by the Bolshevik successes. The Baltic states have entered into peace negotiations with the Reds, which leave them momentarily free and untroubled but seal their ultimate fate, for they no longer have the strength to oppose vast Russian armies. Poland has fallen and Rumania alone remains standing between the Gulf of Finland and the Black Sea.

All of which is only another way of saying that the Allies in the first place abandoned the logical policy of making war upon the Reds, who were making war upon them, because their own people were too weary to fight on and too blind to perceive the meaning of the Red menace to all classes of Western society. Then, in the second place, they attempted as a substitute to persuade the border tribes to do their fighting for them in return for subsidies and technical assistance. This second method has now led straight to the ruin of all but one of the border tribes, so far as the main question of resistance to Russia is concerned.

Russian Peril Still Hidden

We come now to the third phase. Obviously the necessity at the present hour is to fight the Reds, to resist them in the east and center of Europe before they reach the west, having accumulated a tremendous momentum on the way. But will the Western masses consent to fight? I doubt it. The real character of the Russian peril is still hidden from the great majority of the people who constitute the proletariat. They are still convinced that Russian hostility grows out of the action of their own rulers, not out of Russian purpose. In a word, they think that the war with Russia, for war it is, has been a war of aggression by the West, and that once the West consents to make peace, Russia will welcome it.

Of course, this is nonsense, as the Polish incident proves, as the whole course of Bolshevism demonstrates. Bolshevism, as I have pointed out here so often, is a state of war against the whole system of economic and social laws and customs of the

Freedom Shrieks in Poland Once More



Poland—Why did I not pay more attention to the history of Napoleon? Help! Help! —Montreal Star

West. What the Bolsheviks seek to obtain is a system of society, in which the least educated, the least trained, dominate and control, relying upon terror and violence to suppress those whose training and intelligence would give them the predominant influence.

Bolsheviks True Character

Whatever the theories of the Bolsheviks, their practices reveal the true character of their conception of social and economic organization. They have destroyed, not created. Their very military successes are due to soldiers acquired from the old régime and weapons captured from the unsupported and ill-advised Russian factions and border tribes in the last two years. What organization they have of an effective character is entirely alien to their own ideas and ideals.

Bolshevik Success Due to Allies

But with these weapons they have destroyed their enemies in Russia, they have demolished the barrier to their westward advance which the West sought to construct between the Baltic and the Black seas. They have arrived at the frontiers of Central Europe, itself in the last stages of disintegration and incapable of any great effort to resist the enemy. They have reached the frontiers of that Germany which lies smoldering and smoking, ready at any moment, perhaps, to burst into a new and even more terrible flame. Their success is due to the incred-

ible blindness of the allied public, an accompaniment of their extreme exhaustion, itself a consequence of the World War, and to the disgraceful jealousies and bickering among the three great European powers of the West, Britain, France and Italy. And at the moment, when it is no longer possible to disguise the gravity of the menace, Britain is occupied by two considerable wars in Asia, with the Turk and with the Arab; the French have stretched their military resources to the utmost limit to give Gouraud, in Syria,

Peace Only a Truce

And as to the Bolshevik peace proposal one knows what that meant. It meant a truce during which Russia, drawing upon the West for military supplies, would prepare for a new attack upon the border tribes, in the interval employing her enormous propaganda machine to build up Bolshevik sympathizers in the states she was determined to destroy. To-day we see the policy disclosed in the support given to Red elements in Poland, who are manifestly to be employed as the bases for a Red state, to be constructed on the ruins of the Poland which has been overthrown.

This is what Germany did six years ago and throughout the World War. In Belgium the Fleming separation movement was stimulated. In Russia the Lithuanians and the Ukrainians were favored, in the Balkans and Bulgars rewarded at the expense of the Serbs. This is what the French Revolution did a century and a quarter ago, when it overflowed into Central Europe and decorated its own frontiers with various republics, in which the dominant influence was supplied by those who were subsidized or enlisted by the Revolutionary leaders.

Lloyd George's attempts to restrain revolution by eloquence and turn back the onrush of barbarism by ultimatums unsupported by bayonets have been as effective as Canute's prohibition issued to the ocean or Mrs. Partington's adventure in conquering the same enemy with a mop. But Lloyd George has always known better, and acted only under the constraint of his own electorate, which was opposed to all Russian

adventure. French statesmen have never even simulated belief in the vocal method of extinguishing a world conflagration, but France has lacked the strength to undertake a new war single handed.

As for America, what can one say? We have refused to recognize the Reds, we have consistently opposed them, we have conducted within our own boundaries a rigorous repression which has amounted to sending a few score of Bolsheviks back to Europe or behind prison bars, but beyond this we have done nothing. We have shared the Allied policy of passive and indirect hostility. We have contributed money and supplies to various adventures, but, save for a brief moment and on a microscopic scale, we have contributed no men.

Indirect Methods Won't Do

Yet the truth about the Russian revolution is unmistakable. It cannot be beaten by indirect and subsidized efforts directed to support anti-Bolshevik leaders in Russia. It can no longer be restrained by the use of border tribes, by more or less earnest support of the nationalistic and racial aspirations of the people who were once engulfed by the Western push of the Russian or by the German invasion. It can be checked, if at all now, only by the employment of British, French, Italian and American troops in large numbers over a considerable period of time.

And no alternative of peace is open to the West, because the Russian revolution is, in itself, in its very nature and driving force, an assault upon Western civilization. We may fight it at the Oder, the Vistula line having collapsed; we may fight it, when it has overrun Europe, at the shores of the Atlantic itself, when it has at its command all the vast resources of the European world it has engulfed, but somewhere we must fight it.

Lenine is becoming, in his own way, exactly the menace Napoleon

was a little more than a century ago. But Europe was long learning the lesson. Austria fell while Prussia watched. Prussia went to ruin and Russia, on the heels of two defeats, made peace at Tilsit. Only England remained aloof, hostile and helpless as long as Europe was divided. Napoleon's victorious armies reached Madrid and Lisbon, Napoleon dominated the Continent from Gibraltar to Warsaw.

Then, at last, Europe learned its lesson, and all nations and peoples joined in the common battle. But

With Poland Conquered the Next Frontier to Be Defended Will Be the Rhine

easily and generally comprehensible by German acts.

The same will be true of the Bolshevik case. The time has not yet come, perhaps it is still far in the future, when the American public will perceive that all which we have

endured the misery and agony of the feat, having survived Brest-Litovsk, fall when they are now sweeping westward, reconquering all the lost territory and arriving in regions which were not Russian when the World War broke out?

German Aspect Remains

Then there always remains the German aspect. Napoleon found precious allies in Germany in the opening phase of his great imperial career. To-day German interests may be served quite as well by alliance with Russia as continued submission to the Allies. The German choice is between a generation of economic servitude to the West and a dangerous experiment with Eastern revolution. But already Russia offers Germany the territory lost to Poland in the Treaty of Versailles. Will Trotsky be less willing to offer Alsace-Lorraine than Posen and the Danzig corridor?

At the very least Germany can demand immunity from the penalties inflicted at Versailles, can insist that the reparations and restorations be forgiven, if she undertakes with her armies to meet the Russians. But this, at one time, means the ruin of France and the reconstitution of those very German armies which for so many years threatened the peace of Europe. It means, too, the triumph of reaction, first in Germany and then in Russia, for no one can doubt what German policy in Russia would be, nor mistake that it would be with the Prussian Junkers that the Western Allies would have to do business, if, as Winston Churchill suggests, they deputized Germany to fight their battle with Russia.

Treaty Is Dead

We are two years away from Versailles and the eastern settlement has gone into the scrap heap. Poland has practically ceased to exist, or, what is worse, will presently appear as a Bolshevikized state, ally and creature of the Reds. Rumania now face a similar destruction, unless the West is prepared to send large armies, British from Mesopotamia, French from Syria, abandoning the colonial ventures in both regions and accepting the revival of the Turkish nationalists, who have already extended hands toward Russia and may find ultimately a firm alliance there and become a detail in the Russian westward push, operating in Asia Minor and in Mesopotamia.

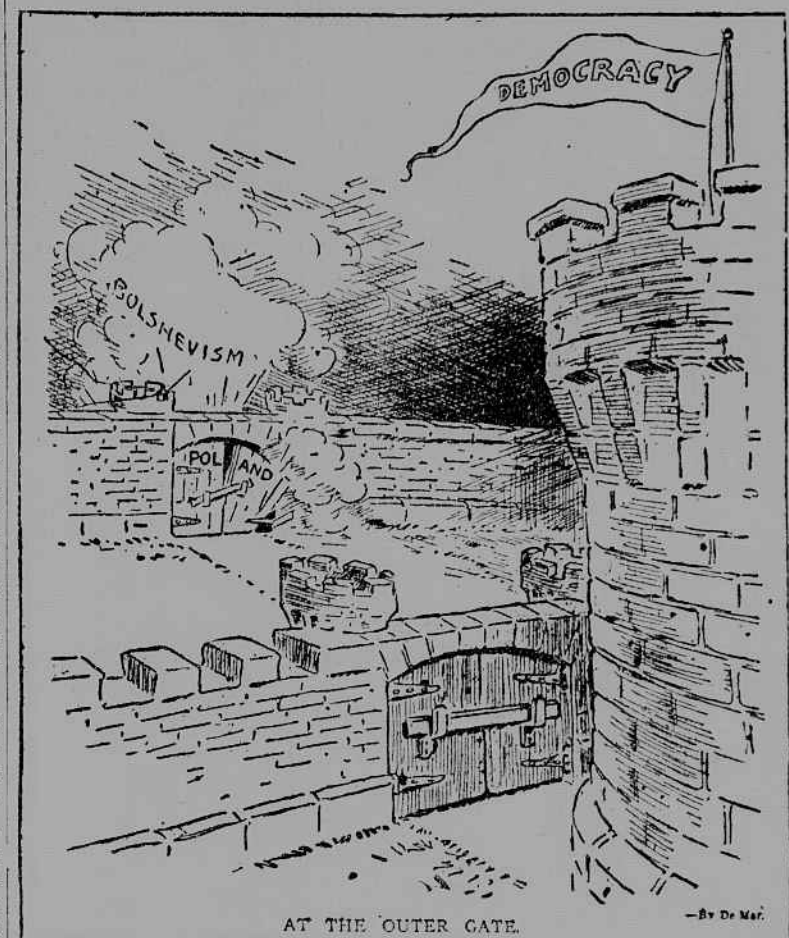
In a few weeks, if the Polish disaster becomes absolute, Germany may be in a position to make her own terms, either with Russia or with her recent conquerors, and either way the victory of the World War is lost. The arrival of the Bolsheviks at Warsaw will have for the alliance which defeated Germany something approximating the significance of the announcement of the return of Napoleon from Elba for the statesmen gathered at Vienna. And there is far less chance of a Waterloo, for the Allies in 1815 were by no means as closely united as those of 1815, while their enemies are far more formidable.

War's Second Stage

We are then, in my judgment, at the threshold of a second stage in the World War, of which the German phase was the first. Western civilization, terribly shaken by the four years of struggle which culminated in the armistice of Rethondes with its wounds unhealed, with its losses still unrepaired, faces a new attack, and the gravest single circumstance is the fact that the greatness of the danger is only dimly perceived by a few as yet. Germany was defeated because all of France sprang to arms at the moment of the declaration of war, Russia was ready to move and Britain was sufficiently alarmed to send her army to the Continent. But who is ready to face Russia?

In the heat of a Presidential election it is idle to imagine that the import for America of the Bolshevik conquest of Poland will be brought home to our own public. This is the truer because there is a universal weariness and distaste for foreign affairs as a consequence of the German War and a political issue, raised by the Treaty of Versailles, but considering that the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand six years ago led directly to the Meuse-Argonne it is rash to suggest that the fall of Poland will lead in no distant time to the reappearance of America in Europe or, at a remote time, to the appearance of Bolshevism on American shores?

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—Philadelphia Record

to-day we are in the stage of extreme disintegration, and Germany is watching the defeat of the West with exactly the same emotion which prevailed in Prussia when Russia and Austria were enduring defeat at Austerlitz. No defeat of the West, however severe, will stir the Germans, even if the Russian advance has for them another Jena in store, such as Napoleon's campaign against Austria prepared in 1805.

Force Alone Will Prevail

In my judgment there will be no halting of the Russian advance, of the Bolshevik sweep, until the masses of the people of Britain, the United States and France recognize that their own existence is in peril and join in open and unlimited war upon the Reds. As long as statesmen are restrained by popular reluctance to make new sacrifices and by the blindness of the millions to the true import for them of the Bolshevik attack, we shall have the futile and fatal hesitations, experiments, failures, which have marked all of Allied policy from the Prinkipo fiasco to the Polish tragedy.

Statesmen cannot make war successfully, even when their judgment of the necessity for war is sound, without the support of the public which in our form of government control. One recalls how many months were required to demonstrate to the people of the United States that war with Germany was not only a moral duty but a physical necessity. By contrast, nothing is more impressive than the fashion in which the millions responded when at last the fact of the matter was made

in the way of order, democracy, progress, limited as these may be, are in deadly peril if Bolshevism is to sweep successfully from Moscow to Madrid. When that hour comes we shall unquestionably resume our place among the Allied nations, and once more take our place in the battle line of Western civilization.

In the meantime, without us the British and the French, with their own problems, colonial, and for the French particularly, Germany, will probably fail to act decisively, will shrink from a new war of the magnitude of the recent conflict, and will, in consequence, see one barrier after another collapse until the enemy reaches the Rhine barrier and the frontiers of India. Similarly, the Italians will remain passive, evacuating outlying territory, as they have in the case of Albania, and awaiting the arrival of the storm at their own frontiers.

Peril of a Fixed Frontier

But as long as the West remains passive Russia will advance. Rome successfully maintained her natural frontiers for a certain time, but when she accepted these boundaries she sealed her own fate. I know that it is fashionable to believe that once the West has agreed to make peace with the Bolsheviks they will be overthrown from within, but this convenient theory breaks down in the face of history.

The French Revolution, so far from collapsing, when its enemies made peace with it, took a new form, achieved order at home and embarked upon a tremendous period of conquest under Napoleon. Why should Trotsky and Lenine, having

Granting an Armistice—Next Week



—Louisville Courier-Journal

Americanization Work Should Begin at Ellis Island

(Continued from page 1)

officials led him to one side and explained to him.

"That's the Commissioner of Immigration," he said. "Keep still and get these people inside, where they can sit down."

The softened head usher got his subordinates together, and they took the immigrants inside and settled them comfortably on the benches to wait the three or four hours until their train should be ready. Then Commissioner Wallis explained to the Erie officials.

Pay Full Rates

"There are no immigrant rates any more," he said. "These people pay as much to travel on your road as any other class of passengers you have."

"That is true," one of the officials acknowledged. "We will make more of these people than on all the rest of the Chicago train put together."

"All right," said the Commissioner. "Then you treat them that way. You treat these immigrants as well as you would any one else who travels on your road, or you won't get any more business from Ellis Island. I am not going to have aliens just arrived in this country sent over here to be led across railroad tracks between moving trains

and then kept on their feet for three or four hours until their trains are ready, and the mothers have to hold the babies in their arms all that time. These people are not getting anything free. They pay just as much as any one else, and they must be treated the same as any one else or there will be no more immigrants routed by the Erie from Ellis Island."

That is the keynote of the abnormal conditions at Ellis Island. The new Immigration Commissioner has a theory that he is putting into practice. It is that the Americanization of immigrants should begin at Ellis Island, and that the way to begin it is to treat them like human beings.

Commissioner Ordered Out

After Mr. Wallis had been appointed and confirmed, and before he was sworn in as commissioner he went over to the Island to have a look around. There is an institution over there known as "the kissing post." It is the place where relatives of immigrants first meet and greet the newly arrived aliens. Mr. Wallis opened a gate in a railing and started in the general direction of "the kissing post." But an inspector rushed up to Mr. Wallis, put both hands on his chest and pushed him back through the gate. "Get out of here!" he bellowed.

"Who are you? What do you mean by coming in here?"

Mr. Wallis fell back, and a few minutes later tried it again. Once more the Bull of Bashan charged upon him. This time another member of the party interfered.

"This is the new commissioner," he explained, whereupon the inspector began profuse apologies.

What He Wanted to Know

"That is all right," said Mr. Wallis. "Don't apologize. I have learned one of the things I wanted to know. If you will treat a visitor, who, even you can see, is an American and a gentleman, in this way, how will you treat these poor aliens? This island has ceased to be the private property of a few inspectors. It has become a government institution and henceforth is going to be human and humane."

That is the reason for the abnormal conditions at Ellis Island. When a visitor goes over there he can go most any place without being clubbed over the head, and if he happens to get into a forbidden path he is directed politely into the proper lanes of travel.

After he had been sworn in the new commissioner made a tour of the buildings on the island. He found that in the dining room they served 8,000 meals a day and that

there was not a drink of water to be had in the place, though there were several drinking fountains. The water was turned off at all of them.

"Why is this water turned off?" he asked an inspector in charge of the dining room.

"The immigrants slop the water around and the floor gets wet near the fountains," said the inspector. "So you keep these poor people without any water with their meals because you are too lazy to mop the floor," said Mr. Wallis. "Turn that water on."

The water was turned on, but during the night some officious official broke all the faucets off the fountains. Mr. Wallis had new faucets put on and stationed a guard to protect them. After a few days the inspectors learned that he meant what he said, and the immigrants can now get all the water they want with their meals.

Bothersome Questions

He found a room with 400 occupants, all the windows closed, the double doors at the entrance closed and a matron complacently fanning herself on the outside. It was the "S. I." room, the room where immigrants are detained who have to go through a special inquiry. When he opened the doors the foul air

that rushed out almost took him off his feet.

"Why are these doors kept closed?" he asked.

"If I leave them open the immigrants bother me to death with their questions," the matron replied.

"Keep these doors open and answer all the questions that are asked you. That is your business," said Mr. Wallis. "Open the windows, too."

It took a week of constant watchfulness to have those double doors kept open, but they are open, now, all the time.

After a little flight of stairs he found another room containing the overflow from the "S. I." It had 225 occupants. Windows and doors closed, of course. But not only that: in this Black Hole of Calcutta the water was shut off and two of the four toilets were out of commission, while the door of the third was locked and the one left open for use was in an indescribably filthy condition.

That situation has been remedied. The aliens detained there are no longer treated as swine by lazy and brutal officials, but are considered human beings.

So it goes all over Ellis Island. There is a new Commissioner who takes nobody's word, but is investigating conditions for himself and taking instant steps to remedy the abuses that have grown up over long

years of bureaucratic inefficiency. "A private business run as the government is would go bankrupt in six months," says Commissioner Wallis.

It is all a part of his theory that the Americanization of the immigrant should begin with the arrival of the ship in the port of New York. "It is men and women we are receiving here," he says, "and if we are going to make good American citizens of them, we must show them from the minute of their arrival that this is a civilized country."

To help him put his theory into practice he is forming a committee of well known men and women who shall constitute themselves an organization for receiving the immigrants and helping them to a fair start in their new country. Many aliens have to be detained for greater or less periods of time on Ellis Island. No one ever seems to have thought of entertaining them while they are here. Commissioner Wallis has begun a program of concerts. They are given Sunday afternoons at present, but he expects soon to have them three times a week. If he succeeds in all he has laid out for himself to do, people who have been familiar with Ellis Island in the past and with the treatment of the newly arrived alien to these shores—third class—will be inclined to call him superhuman.